DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 231 539 PS 013 752

AUTHOR Schofield, Janet Ward
TITLE Peer Relations in Desegregated Schools: Three Propositions for Thought.
SPONS AGENCY National Inst. of Education (ED), Washington, DC.; National Inst. of Mental Health (DHHS), Rockville, Md. Div. of Scientific and Public Information.; Pittsburgh Univ., Pa. Learning Research and Development Center.
PUB DATE Apr 83
CONTRACT 400-76-0011
GRANT DHHS-1R01-MH31-601-01
NOTE 44p.; Paper presented at Biennial Meeting of the Society for Research on Child Development (50th Detroit, MI, April 21-24, 1983).
PUB TYPE Reports - Research/Technical (143) -- Speeches/Conference Papers (150)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC02 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS Attitude Change; *Black Stereotypes; Black Students; Elementary Education; *Elementary School Students; Grade 6; Grade 7; Intergroup Relations; *Junior High School Students; Longitudinal Studies; Middle Schools; Observation; *Peer Relationship; *Racial Relations; *School Desegregation; Student Attitudes; White Students
IDENTIFIERS *Situational Variables

ABSTRACT

An intensive study of one desegregated school, located in a large northeastern industrial city, specifically sought to investigate peer interactions among sixth- and seventh-grade students in a racially mixed school. The basic data-gathering strategy involved observations conducted in classrooms, hallways, playgrounds, and the cafeteria. Observers used the full field-note method for recording events, and extensive efforts were made to triangulate the data. Findings suggested the relevance of three propositions about the nature of peer relations in the school: (1) intergroup behaviors may become more accepting at the same time negative racial stereotypes are reinforced, (2) black and white students may have quite different perceptions of both the extent of change in intergroup relations and the actual state of such relations, and (3) the nature of intergroup behavior is markedly influenced by specific situational factors. These three propositions were seen as being little more than hypotheses, the generality of which remains to be demonstrated. (Each proposition is illustrated with excerpts from the data, and implications for researchers and educators are pointed out.) (RH)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)
X This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.
Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.
• Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official NIE position or policy.

ED231539

Peer Relations in Desegregated Schools: Three Propositions For Thought

Janet Ward Schofield

University of Pittsburgh

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY
Janet W. Schofield
TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

PS 013752

This paper was prepared for presentation at the meeting of the Society for Research on Child Development in Detroit in April, 1983. The research on which this paper is based was funded by the author's contract 400-76-0011 with the National Institute of Education. Other expenses related to preparation of the chapter were covered by a grant 1R01 MH31 602-01 from the National Institute of Mental Health and by the Learning Research and Development Center at the University of Pittsburgh. However all opinions expressed herein are solely those of the author and no endorsement of the ideas by the funding agencies is implied or intended. The author wishes to express her deep appreciation to the students and staff of Wexler School for their generous cooperation and to H. Andrew Sagar and Elaine McGivern for their energetic and insightful assistance in the data gathering.

The purpose of this paper is to advance three propositions about the nature of peer relations in racially-mixed schools. These propositions were derived from an intensive three year study of peer relations in one particular desegregated school. Thus, in one sense, they are little more than hypotheses, the generality of which remains to be demonstrated. Yet, they are firmly grounded in the data generated by the study and are quite consistent with recent findings from other studies of very different racially-mixed schools. My purpose in presenting these propositions is to stimulate further conceptual and empirical work on the nature of peer relations in desegregated schools and, more specifically, to suggest directions for such work which I believe will lead to its enrichment. Before proceeding to discuss the three propositions which are the focus of this paper, I will briefly describe the research project from which they emerged, focusing both on the nature of the school at which the research was conducted and on the research methodology employed.

Methodology

The Research Site: Wexler Middle School

In choosing a site for the research, I adopted a strategy that Cook and Campbell (1976) have called generalizing to target instances. The aim was not to study what happens in a "typical" desegregated school, if indeed such an entity exists. Rather, it was to explore peer relations under conditions that theory suggests should be relatively conducive to positive relations between blacks and whites.

Allport (1954) argues that intergroup contact may reinforce previously held stereotypes and increase intergroup hostility unless the contact situation is structured in a way that provides equal status for minority and majority group members and strong institutional support for positive relations. Hence, he argues, equality of status in formal roles is an important precondition to change. More recent work suggests that equal status may be neither an absolutely necessary prerequisite nor a sufficient condition for change; however, it does appear to be very helpful (Amir, 1969, 1976; Cohen, 1975; Cohen, Lockheed & Lohman, 1976; Cook, 1978). Allport also held that an additional ingredient necessary to improved intergroup relations was cooperation toward shared, strongly desired goals. A rapidly growing body of research suggests that cooperation toward mutually desired goals is indeed generally conducive to improved intergroup relations. (Aronson, Blaney, Stephan, Sikes & Snapp, 1978; Ashmore, 1970; Cook, 1978; Sherif, 1979; Slavin, 1978; Worchel, 1979).

Wexler Middle School, which serves 1200 children in sixth through eighth grade, was chosen for study because the decisions made in planning for it suggested that it would come reasonably close to meeting the conditions that Allport specified. The school's strong efforts to provide a positive environment for interracial education can be illustrated by examination of its staffing policy. The administration, faculty and staff of the school are biracial, with about 25 percent of the faculty being black. The top four administrative positions are filled by two blacks and two whites.

The extent to which Wexler met the conditions specified by Allport as conducive to the development of improved intergroup relations has been discussed at length elsewhere (Schofield, 1982). Here, I shall merely report the conclusion drawn in that discussion--that Wexler, especially during its first year, came considerably closer to meeting Allport's criteria than most desegregated public schools. Yet, the school fell seriously short of meeting these conditions in a number of important ways, many of which were quite direct results of societal conditions over which Wexler had little or no control. For example, in spite of Wexler's commitment to a staffing pattern which would provide equal formal status for blacks and whites, the proportion of black teachers on its staff was considerably lower than the proportion of black students since the school system did not want to put too high a proportion of its black teachers in one school and the proportion of black teachers in the system was markedly lower than the proportion of black students in the system. In sum, Wexler made stronger than usual efforts to foster positive relations between blacks and whites, but fell markedly short of being a theoretically ideal milieu for the accomplishment of this goal.

Wexler is located in a large industrial northeastern city. Almost half of the students enrolled in its public school system are black in spite of the fact that blacks constitute only 20 percent of the city's population. Wexler opened in the fall of 1975 with a racially balanced student body which was almost precisely 50 percent black and 50 percent white. A large majority of Wexler's white students came from middle or upper middle class homes. Although some of the black children were middle class, the majority came from either poor or working class

families.

During its first year, Wexler obtained its students through an open enrollment plan. Students were selected on a first-come, first-served basis within quotas set to obtain a racially and sexually balanced student body. In the school's second year, the open enrollment plan was dropped and students from about a dozen elementary schools were required to enroll in Wexler when they entered sixth grade. By the time the students who entered Wexler as sixth graders in 1975 graduated from the eighth grade, the proportion of whites in th student body had dropped substantially and many individuals, both black and white, questioned whether the school was even coming close to fulfilling its early promise (Schofield, 1978).

Data Gathering

The analysis that follows is based on an intensive study of peer relations in the sixth and seventh grades at Wexler from its opening in 1975 to 1978. The basic data-gathering strategy was intensive and extensive observation in Wexler's classrooms, hallways, playgrounds, and cafeteria. Observers used the full field note method for recording the events they witnessed (Olsen, 1976). A large number of events were observed because they were representative of the events that filled most of the school day at Wexler. However, an important subgroup of events was over-sampled in relation to their frequency of occurrance because of their direct relevance to the study's focus. This strategy, which Glaser and Strauss (1976) call theoretical sampling, led to "over-sampling" certain activities such as affective education classes

designed to help students get to know each other, meeting of Wexler's interracial student advisory group set up to handle the special problems students may face in a desegregated school, and health classes dealing with sex education. Over the course of the three-year study, more than 500 hours were devoted to observation of students and staff at Wexler.

A wide variety of other data-gathering strategies ranging from sociometric questionnaires to experimental work were also used. Interviews were employed extensively. For example, randomly selected panels of students participated in open-ended interviews twice a year. Teachers and administrators were also interviewed repeatedly. In addition, graffiti in the bathrooms and on the school walls were routinely recorded, school bulletins were collected and careful note was taken of such things as wall decorations and public address system announcements.

Space does not allow a full discussion of the many varied techniques which were employed in collecting and analyzing the data on which this paper is based. However, two general principles which guided the research must be mentioned. First, both data-gathering and analysis were rigorous and systematic as possible. For example, sampling techniques were employed where appropriate; trained coders, who were unaware of the race and sex of particular respondents, coded typed transcriptions of the open-ended interviews using reliable systems developed for this research; field notes were carefully indexed so that all notes relevant to a given topic could be examined, etc. Second, since it is often impossible to achieve extremely high levels of precision and control in field research, strong efforts were made to

triangulate the data (Webb, Campbell, Schwartz and Sechrest, 1966). Great care was taken to gather many different types of information bearing on the same issue, to minimize the potential problems with each data source and to be sensitive in analyzing and interpreting the data to biases which could not be completely eliminated. The basic approach used in the analysis of the qualitative data is outlined in works such as Barton and Lazarsfeld (1961), Becker and Greer (1960), Campbell (1975), and Glaser and Strauss (1967). Fuller details on data-gathering and analysis are presented elsewhere as is information on the strategies used to minimize observer reactivity and bias (Schofield, 1982).

Three Propositions About Intergroup Relations

This section of this paper will be divided into three major subsections, one dealing with each of the propositions about peer relations in racially-mixed environments which emerged from the study briefly described above. Each of the subsections will present both a proposition and some of the evidence on which that proposition is based. The evidence presented is meant to be illustrative rather than conclusive since space does not permit full examination of all the evidence generated by the study relevant to each point. Readers will, however, by provided with information on where a more detailed exposition of such evidence is available.

Proposition 1: Racial Attitudes and Intergroup Behavior May Simultaneously Change in Quite Different Directions

The idea that attitudes and behavior are not as closely related as common sense might lead us to believe is hardly new. Discussions of this fact have been prominent in the fields of sociology and social psychology for over two decades (Liska 1974; Schuman & Johnson 1976; Wicker 1969). However, the phenomenon observed at Wexler was more startling than the mere lack of a strong positive correlation between attitudes and behavior. Rather, the data suggest changes on one dimension, behavior, which were in the opposite direction from those occurring on the other presumably somewhat related dimension. More specifically, whereas intergroup behavior became noticeably more positive over time, racial stereotypes, especially those held by white children, appeared to intensify. Since both the stereotypes held by the students and their typical patterns of intergroup behavior were influenced to some extent by their race, for brevity's sake the following discussion will focus heavily although not exclusively on white students.

Decreasing avoidance and increasing acceptance of other-race peers. One general conclusion which emerged from analysis of both the interviews and the observations at Wexler was that a definite, but relatively modest, improvement in relations between black and white students occurred over time. Roughly two-thirds of the students interviewed, both black and white, perceived some improvement in black/white relations when queried about changes during a particular year or over the course of a two or three year time span. The vast majority of the remaining students saw no change, with only an occasional student feeling that intergroup relations had deteriorated over time. The excerpts from student interviews presented below are

quite typical.

> Interviewer: Are things different now [June] between black and white kids than they were in September?
>
> Pat (black):. . . . First when they came here they were scared and they was tight. . . . They was afraid. They wouldn't talk to nobody until people started coming over and talking to them. . . . Last year they didn't know you that well. This year they do.
>
> Lina (white, responding to the same question asked of Pat): Well, I think the kids are friendlier toward the end of the year. I think there's been less fights and the kids are messing more and having fun.

Observation of Wexler's students confirmed the gradual improvement in intergroup relations indicated in the interviews. Most noticeable was a decrease in the amount of avoidance of members of the other race on the part of white children. This avoidance took two forms, physical avoidance and a more subtle psychological avoidance which amounted to completely ignoring the presence or behavior of a peer of the other race. Examples of both appear below.

> Today the class is viewing the movie, Conrack, on the closed-circuit television. . . . Two white girls, Linda and Margie, have been seated on a shelf inside a cabinet-type piece of furniture all period so far [about 25 minutes]. This cabinet is near the door, as far from the TV screen as possible. It has no doors of the shelf can serve as a seat

and the sides of the cabinet come out around the seats to make a rather private and protected cubby hole. Linda and Margie have been playing little hand games or just talking quietly. Rob (a large black child) wanders over to the cabinet and takes a seat. The girls immediately vacate their places and move to the floor nearby although there was room for three children in the cabinet if they had been willing to sit close to each other. . . . Margie has taken a very unusual position. . . . sitting on the floor in a corner space which is about two feet square. . . . She certainly looks very isolated. Her earlier perch was. . . . considerably more comfortable and clearly had a better view of both the TV and the classroom.

Martin, who is black, gets up and crosses the room to the pencil sharpener. He passes behind Tim, who is also black, and makes an X on the back of Tim's shirt with his pencil. Tim turns, frowns and checks his shirt to see if the other fellow has actually written on it. He looks slightly angry. As Martin continues toward the pencil sharpener, he passes behind Rex, a white boy, and does the same thing to him that he just finished doing to Tim. Rex doesn't even turn his head. He continues sitting in his rather slouched position and ignores Tim who clearly wants to get a little bit of mischief going.

Some children felt avoidance of outgroup members made sense because blacks and whites had little in common. Others hesitated to approach or respond to others, even when there was no obvious reason not to, because they feared a negative reaction.

Laura (white): The black kids and the white kids don't really associate with each other. . . . Like I try to ignore the blacks.

Interviewer: Why do you do that?

Laura: Well, they ignore me too. . . . We don't really associate. . . . There's nothing really we have in common. . . . The black kids are talking about their own things.

Towards the end of their first year at Wexler and during their second year, students began to be somewhat more willing to initiate and accept friendly contact with members of the other race. A study of seating patterns in the school cafeteria illustrates both the extent of the actual avoidance and the fact that modest change did occur over time (Schofield & Sagar, 1977). Seating patterns in the cafeteria were mapped roughly once a week for two years. On a typical day, when the seating positions of the approximately 200 students in the cafeteria during any particular lunch were recorded, fewer than ten of them sat next to someone of the other race. The number of students sitting next to racial out-group members did increase over time in a statistically significant way, although the absolute number of students whose behavior changed was small. For example, on the first day of the study in the seventh grade lunch period, there were only four cases in which black and white students sat next to each other. At the end of that semester

on the last day of data gathering twelve such cases were found. Although the number of such cases did triple over time, there were still only about one-fifth as many as would be expected if the students chose seatmates without regard to race.

As indicated above then, and as discussed in considerably more detail elsewhere (Schofield, 1982), interracial behavior did become considerably more accepting as students progressed through Wexler. The fear and tension which led to avoidance during the first months gradually disappeared and was replaced by the generally casual and friendly classroom behavior illustrated in the field notes presented below:

> Mr. Cousins (white) is walking around the room checking students work. . . . At Table 2, Jeff (white) and Henry (black) are still acting playfully. They occasionally whisper, do some talking, show each other their papers and all of a sudden they have given the "gimmie five" handshake to each other. They lean very close together as they continue to whisper and giggle.

> Today in Ms. Hopkins' (black) class, there will be a speaker. . . . Two girls, a tall black child and a long haired white one, who came up to this room together from their last class. . . . .are talking and holding hands.

Wexler's students were well aware of the change in the white students' behavior.

> Interviewer: Do white kids act differently to blacks now than when tney first came?

Stacy (black): Yes, they didn't want to be around blacks. I guess they. . . . was prejudiced or something, too cute for the blacks. But now they are nice you know. They are friends with mostly everybody.

Margaret (white, responding to same question as Stacy): Yeah, they have adjusted to them. I mean, before they hardly saw them, now they work with them and everything like that.

Strengthening of negative racial stereotypes. As is the case in many desegregated schools, Wexler's white students both came from more affluent backgrounds than did the black students and, on the average, outperformed their black peers in the classroom. This situation set the stage for the creation and the strengthening of negative racial stereotypes, especially on the part of whites. Indeed, whereas as indicated above, most children perceived a positive change in whites' intergroup behavior, a great many perceived either no change in their intergroup attitudes or a strengthening of negative stereotypes.

Interviewer: Do you think that being in a school like Wexler has changed white kids' ideas about blacks?

Mary (white): It changed mine. It made me prejudiced really. . . . You know, it is just so obvious that the whites are smarter than blacks. My mother keeps telling me its socioeconomic background, that the blacks is Avon (an affluent integrated section of the city) are nice people. But, I keep thinking every time I see a black person, "Stay away from me." The blacks are the ones who come down the halls with rubber bands and shoot them at you.

In addition to believing that whites were more intelligent than blacks, children at Wexler also saw whites as more rule-abiding and less aggressive as suggested by the excerpts from the interview with Mary presented just above. The sentence-completion responses of a white sixth grader also illustrate the contrast between the image of blacks and whites at Wexler.

> Martin (white): A lot of people think that black kids are mean or vandalize. A lot of people think that white kids are hard workers.

Whites, in contrast to blacks, were seen as being good both academically and otherwise sometimes even too good for other children's tastes.

> Harry (white): A lot of people think that white kids are goody goody two-shoes.
>
> Daryl (black): A lot of people think that white kids are smart.

Although it is undeniable that many white students entered Wexler believing that blacks were tougher than whites, again and again they asserted in interviews and indicated in conversation with peers that this image was strengthened by their experiences there. One of the most striking examples of this was the boy who told his father, "I know you're not going to like this, but I've become a racist because of going to Wexler." The strength of the association at Wexler between being black and being tough is well illustrated by the responses of eighty sixth-grade boys, forty black and forty white, to a sentence-completion task. Embedded in a wide variety of other sentence fragments about life at Wexler were phrases like "Most of the black kids in the school. . . ." Over one-half of both the black and white boys completed

these questions in a way which emphasized the physical toughness and aggressiveness of blacks (Sagar, 1979). Typical responses appear below:

> Tom (white): A lot of people think that black kids fight too much. A lot of people think that white kids aren't strong enough.

The association between toughness and blacks was strong among the girls too, although perhaps not as marked as among boys.

> Donna (black): The white girls are scared of the black girls.
>
> Interviewer: Why do yo think that is?
>
> Donna: They [black girls] just like to bully.
>
> Interviewer: Do they bully other black girls?
>
> Donna: Those who let them. . . . .Most of the time white girls. . . .can't defend themselves as well as a black girl can.

Given the clear link between social class and emphasis on physical toughness for both whites and blacks, such differences are not too surprising (Folb 1973; Miller 1968). Yet, as in the case of academic achievement, students tended to see race, rather than social class, as the causal variable.

In summary, at Wexler whiteness became associated with success in the most fundamental role of children in the school situation — that of the student. White children accepted readily being part of a group that performed well in the student roles. But the more whites worked at achieving academically and obeying school rules by avoiding rough and tumble or aggressive behavior, the more traditional racial stereotypes were reinforced in both their own minds and those of many of their black

peers.

Reconciling the seeming contradiction. The conclusion that whites became more willing to interact with blacks as they spent time at Wexler may at first seem inconsistent with the conclusion that the achievement gap between blacks and whites and somewhat different behavioral styles tended to reinforce negative racial stereotypes. Indeed, answers to specific questions about the ways in which being at Wexler had changed white children's ideas about blacks suggested as indicated previously that the white children, in general, perceived little or no positive change in this area and that many even said that their ideas about blacks had become less positive over time.

Obviously, then, the question that arises is why most whites became more willing to interact with blacks as they progressed through Wexler even though their assessment of what blacks were like showed little if any positive change and in some cases became quite negative. One possible key to this rather perplexing phenomenon was that although whites' ideas about what blacks were like changed little, if at all, for the better, the white children did become somewhat less automatically and immediately afraid of blacks and thus more willing to interact with them. For example, student responses to the question, "How often do you think kids here feel afraid of other kids here?" showed a marked and statistically significant change over time. The first time white students were asked this question their average answer was just above the point on the response continuum provided which was labeled "Most of the time." One year later, when they were eighth graders, their average

response fell just above the point on the continuum which was labelled, "Sometimes." Since this diminution of fear was an important outcome for the white students and appeared to significantly influence their behavior, I will discuss the factors which seemed to lead to it.

A great many students, black and white, initially felt nervous and apprehensive about attending Wexler. However, the basis of some of their fears was different. First, in contrast to black children, white children were quite obviously made apprehensive by the novelty of an environment which included large numbers of people of another race. This sense of being overwhelmed by the sheer number of black peers came up again and again in interviews as white students used phrases like, "I never saw so many blacks in one place before" and "wall-to-wall blacks."

> Maureen (white): White people, when they got here, probably though, "There is so many black people here in one place!" It really surprised them.

Part of the decline in white children's fears may have been due to something as simple as getting used to an environment which contained a large number of black students.

> Interviewer: Do white kids act any differently toward blacks than the did when you first came to Wexler?
>
> Bob (white): Uh huh. When we came here the first year (we) didn't know what it was like to be with people that are different. So there probably was a little fear involved for both, but now . . . . it's a lot different. Now you are used to it.

Several other factors also seemed to be important in leading to a decline in the whites' level of fear and of the decreasing impact of such fear on intergroup relations. First, many white studetns developed techniques for reducing or handling their fear. Often white children initially responded to perceived danger or threat of danger with withdrawal or submission, which were ultimately not very effective. However, with time, a sizable proportion developed or took advantage of more effective techniques, at least occasionally. For example, one group of white boys' formed a club, the Mice, which seemed to give its members an increased sense of security since one of its purposes was protection of its members. Numerous students, white and black, took advantage of the seventh grade student council to try to find solutions to some of the problems which created fear and resentment. For example, the student council appointed some of its members to serve as hall and lunchroom monitors to help prevent aggressive behaviors in these settings. The effectiveness of this monitoring effort was made clear when the student council's vice-president, a black child named Bill, was reported to the group for his disruptive behavior. After discussing Bill's misconduct, the student council voted to place him on probation for two weeks and to remove him from office if his behavior did not improve by the end of that time. The students thus applied sanctions for behavior that violated group norms, such at the often expressed idea that student council members should set a good example for others. In this way the council helped to control negative behaviors which were aversive to most children and potentially harmful to relations between blacks and whites.

Some white students managed to overcome their initial trepidation well enough to stick up for themselves when necessary.

Interviewer: Do white kids seem to act any differently toward blacks now than they did when they first came to Wexler?

Betty (white): I got involved in a few things that I didn't like. Then I learned to stick up for myself. . . . There was a couple of black girls that tried to force me to fight this other one. I didn't know what to do. . . . I got in trouble. . . . The teachers, the first year I came to Wexler, were really afraid of black people.

Interviewer: Do you think that black kids act any differently to whites now than they did when you first came here?

Betty: I think when they first came they had a pre-set idea of white people's behavior. When they got here they learned that not all of the white kids are going to roll over and play dead when they say "boo."

Some students, like Betty, learned from their own experiences the value of standing up for themselves. Others found, generally to their surprise, that black classmates who were friends might help defend them against other black students who caused them trouble.

Another method for reducing fear which many white students employed was to avoid as far as possible those places or behaviors which were associated with intimidation by other students. Chief among the places to be avoided were the bathrooms and other basically unsupervised areas. Some white studetns were annoyed or frightened in the bathrooms by black students who teased or taunted them. Others, who had few or no such negative experiences, still felt uncomfortable and fearful there since

adult supervision was virtually non-existent and black students who cut class to smoke or gossip with friends found the bathrooms a convenient meeting place.

Other students learned that one way to avoid trouble was to be especially careful about gossiping or making derogatory remarks about out-group members. Although fights about gossip were quite frequent among girls even when both parties involved were of the same race, the black children's concerns about rejection and ridicule from whites made them especially sensitive to criticism by white peers. Some whites recognized this and learned how to avoid confrontations stemming from it.

One final factor which made possible the simultaneous reduction in fear and maintenance or buttressing of stereotypes about black aggression was the growing ability of white children at Wexler to differentiate between individual blacks. On the one hand, as discussed in detail elsewhere (Sagar & Schofield, 1980; Schofield, 1982), whites clearly believed that blacks as a group were tougher and more assertive than whites. On the other hand, they built up a lot of experience with individual black classmates who were not at all aggressive. Indeed, experiences like the student council discussions of discipline problems let them see that many of their black classmates were as disturbed as they were by aggressive behavior. Thus, at the same time white children came to see differences in "average" levels of aggression in their black and white peers, they also learned through experience that many of their black classmates were unlikely to be any special threat to them and deplored the behavior of the rowdier students. A black eighth grader

talked to an interviewer about white students' reactions to different types of behavior on the part of black students.

> Interviewer: Some people say that black and white students in a school like Wexler get to know each other real quickly and easily. Others say that this isn't always so. What do you think?
>
> Janice (black): Well, it all depends on how you act, how your behavior is. If you act bad or tense, the white people don't want to be around you; but if you act nice and quiet they probably want to be around you. . . . You go sit by them or something or you just talk to them. . . . I met a lot of white people.

The initial sense of being overwhelmed by an undifferentiated group, by "wall-to-wall blacks," gave way for many white children to a clearer understanding that although their black peers did share many visible physical attributes there were important individual differences among them. Thus, in their second and third years at Wexler, white students seemed much more likely to differentiate between individual black children than they were initially. One effect of this increasing differentiation among members of the racial out-group was that the students seemed to engage in less intergroup behavior and more interprsonal behavior. In other words, the children began to react to one another more as individuals and less as members of racial in-groups or out-groups. Racial group membership certainly did not become irrelevant or go unnoticed as students got to know each other. Rather, it became one of many salient individual attributes instead of remaining a characteristic of such overwhelming importance that it often virtually

determined behavior. The following excerpt from and interview with a white boy in the spring of his second year at Wexler illustrates this differentiation.

> Interviewer: Do you think black kids have any trouble knowing how to act toward white kids when they are in a school like Wexler?
>
> Sandy (white): They might. some of the black kids think of white kids as enemies instead of normal people. It depends on the person.

Thus, even students who continued to deal with their fears by avoidance had the opportunity to learn that general avoidance of all blacks was unnecessary.

Proposition II: Black and White Students May Have Quite Different Perceptions of Both the Extent of Change in Intergroup Relations and the Actual State of Such Relations

As discussed earlier, most blacks and whites agreed that intergroup relations in general improved over time and that white students' behavior towards blacks became more accepting. There was, however, some disagreement over whether blacks' behavior towards whites changed. Although whites generally reported an improvement in intergroup relations and saw ways in which their own behavior toward black classmates had become more positive, they were rarely able to specify ways in which black children's behavior toward whites had changed. Instead, to the extent that there was any consistency in their responses to questions about this topic, they felt that even after spending two or more years at Wexler black children still behaved too rowdily or

aggressively when interacting with whites. In sharp contrast, blacks, by and large, clearly perceived changes in their own group's behavior towards whites. First, they though blacks had developed a greater willingness to spend time with out-group members. Second, they was a tendency toward less aggressive behavior toward whites. Both of the changes are reflected in the comments of two black eighth graders.

> Interviewer: Have the black kids changed in their behavior toward whites since they came to Wexler?
>
> Geraldine (black): They be with them (whites) more often. Before they used to hit on different ones, shorter ones. Now that still goes on but not as much as when we first came.
>
> Ellen (black): When we first came to Wexler, they (blacks) was wild. They wouldn't even be near whites, you know. Now all you see is black people hanging with whites a lot. . . . Mostly all my friends are whites.

It is difficult to be completely sure whether the perceptions of the black or white students were more accurate since it was, for example, often impossible to tell which of two children engaged in a friendly interracial interaction had initiated it. However, the weight of the available data suggests that black children did exhibit more friendly behavior to whites as time went on. Their behavior may have changed somewhat less strikingly than that of whites, but this appeared to be mainly because they were initially less likely to exhibit the very obvious avoidance responses that some whites did.

Blacks not only perceived changes in their behavior towards whites which whites did not, they were also more positive about the state of intergroup relations in general. This point can be illustrated by examining Table 1 which is based on interviews with twenty students just before they graduated from Wexler. Similar interviews with these students and others as seventh graders yielded parallel findings, as has another recent study of desegregated middle schools in Florida (Damico, Bell-Nathaniel & Green, 1981).

Insert Table 1 about here

Note in Table 1 that blacks rated intergroup relations at Wexler markedly more positively than did whites. Whereas the black students' average answer to the query about how blacks and whites got along fell near the point on the response continuum labeled "pretty well" (+5), white students' average response fell on the negative side of this continuum, somewhat below "just OK"(0). Also of note is the fact that the black students' ratings of intergroup and intragroup relations were very similar. Whites, in contrast, saw relations between the two groups as significantly worse than relations within racial groups, black or white.

Although our data do not allow a definitive explanation of these rather puzzling differences in white and black children's assessments of the amount of change in black children's behavior and the quality of intergroup relations, one important difference in behavioral style of

black and white children provides a possible explanation. As discussed previously, black students at Wexler were more likely to engage in rough-and-tumble play and to display a somewhat more aggressive personal style than were whites. There were certainly times when whites were on the receiving end of rambunctious or aggressive behavior because they were white. However, such instances did not appear to be a large proportion of the interracial exchanges which were frightening or annoying to whites. It may well be that as black children came to feel more accepted by white peers the number of such instances declined, thus leading black children to see their behavior toward whites as becoming more positive and intergroup relations as being quite good. Whites, however, who were still on the receiving end of many behaviors which were threatening to them, may have interpreted such events as attacks linked to their race, not fully recognizing the extent to which many blacks interacted in a similar style with peers of their own race.

Such a misperception could stem from a combination of factors. First, it seems reasonable to argue that white students paid closer attention to blacks' behavior toward whites than toward other blacks since the former was of more immediate relevance to white students concerned and apprehensive about how blacks would act toward them. Such a focusing of attention might mean that white children were not fully aware of the extent to which the behaviors they perceived as indicative of hostile intergroup relations were, in actuality, no different from the behaviors that some of their black classmates frequently directed toward each other. An experimental study conducted at Wexler resulted in a finding which may explain some of the differences in the rate at which black and white children engaged in certain behaviors which could

be interpreted as hostile in intent. Specifically, white boys perceived some fairly common school and classroom behaviors, such as taking someone's pencil without permission, as more mean and threatening and less playful and friendly, than did their black classmates (Sagar & Schofield, 1980). To the extent that black and white children perceived the implications of such behaviors in rather different ways, they would naturally come to different conclusions about just how positive peer relations were. In addition, the very fact that a particular behavior was directed from a black to a white may have affected its interpretation and made it seem more threatening than it would have been otherwise. Experimental work by Duncan (1976) demonstrates the reality of such a phenomenon. Its occurrence at Wexler is suggestd by incidents such as one in which a white girl was frightened enough to cry when a black girl just touched her hair. Mutual grooming of hair between girls of the same race at Wexler was frequent and rarely if ever occasioned upset.

Proposition III: The Nature of Intergroup Behavior is Markedly Influenced by Specific Situational Factors

Nearly four decades ago, Allport (1954) in proposing his contact hupothesis argued that the nature of the particular situation in which outgroup members encounter each other can significantly influence the course of intergroup relations. Allport's emphasis and that of later scholars who further developed his work, such as Pettigrew, however, was on the way in which situational factors influence relatively basic racial attitudes and behavior patterns. Thus, for example, in a study typical in many ways of work deriving from Allport's, Cook (1978)

explored the question of whether experience in a carefully structured biracial situation lasting over the period of several weeks had any impact on racial attitudes measured a number of months later.

The results of the study to be reported in this section of the paper suggest that relations between blacks and whites are reasonably responsive to the specific conditions under which contact occurs. Thus, in a general way, they support the basic assumption on which Allport's contact hypothesis rests. Yet they go beyond this in emphasizing the extent to which individuals with a given set of racial attitudes will act very differently toward racial out-group members literally from hour to hour depending on the structure of the contact situation.

The immediately preceding sections of this paper have discussed changes over time in the intergroup behavior and attitudes of black and white children. Even more striking to an observer at Wexler were the variations in black/white relations in different settings within the school. For example, the impact of various instructional decisions made by the teachers on the amount and type of intergroup interaction in academic classes has been discussed in detail elsewhere (Schofield, 1982; Schofield & Sagar, 1979). Furthermore, students tended to feel that certain types of classes were more conducive to positive relations than others—that is that it was easier to get along in classes involving certain types of subject matter. Specifically, many black students felt that race had more of a negative impact on peer relations in academic classes than in other settings like art or gym.

Interviewer: Do black and white kids seem to get along better some times than others here at Wexler? . . .

Debbie (black): Gym . . . and . . . art . . . 'cause that's a fun class; but in math and reading they don't get along because it's a white person and you are colored. But in art or something, a fun class, you get along.

Interviewer: Oh, I see, so color becomes a difference more in certain types of classes. . . .

Debbie: Yes.

Although this issue was not investigated closely enough to warrant any firm conclusions, it is hardly surprising that the classes which were most frequently nominated as likely to minimize an awareness of race were non-academic classes in which the status differential between whites and blacks stemming from different average levels of academic achievement was less salient than usual.

Two specific examples of the extent to which situational factors influence intergroup behavior will be discussed in some detail to illustrate the general point. The first example concerns factors which discouraged negative behavior; the second focuses on factors which encouraged positive behavior.

Overt problems between black and white students at Wexler took place in areas which were not constantly or effectively supervised by adults in clear disproportion to the amount of time the students spent in such settings. This fact reflects nothing unique about black/white relations since fights, extortion and other types of hassling between members of the same race were also widely acknowledged to be most frequent in largely unsupervised places like the hallways, stairwells, cafeteria and bathrooms. Rather, it merely reflects two other facts.

First, the norms for deportment were somewhat different in the classrooms than elsewhere. Second, and not surprisingly, when adults were not around to enforce rules inhibiting rough-and-tumble behavior such behavior was more frequent than otherwise. An example of the sort of incident which was much more likely to occur in unsupervised areas than in Wexler's classrooms is presented below.

> Mike, a tall black seventh grader, has cornered Ann, a short white girl. . . . He keeps her in front of him with one arm across her chest and his other arm clasping her arm behind her back. She squirms but cannot get away. . . . Mike says "You better tell me!" and Ann replies, "I don't know. I told you! Ask Harold." As Jim, (white) passes by eating from a box of candy Mike says to him, "You better give me one." Jim turns and without smiling or saying anything gives him a piece of candy. Mike and Ann are now close to the classroom door. When they reach it, Mike lets go and Ann immediately heads towards a table at which three other white girls are sitting.

Although incidents causing obvious hostility between black and white children were more common in unsupervised areas than they were in classrooms, white students frequently suggested that relations between black and white students were also affected by the extent to which teachers were able to keep order in their classrooms.

> Interviewer: Do black and white kids get along better in classes with certain teachers than with others? Ella (white): Yea. The more strict teachers. Mike (white, responding to the same question asked of Ella): Yeah. A lot depends on the teacher, how well the teacher can control the class. Mainly

the kids that jag around may be black. . . . Interviewer: When you say "jag around" what do you mean? Mike: Don't listen, start wrestling or stuff.

Black students generally did not mention classroom supervision or discipline as important to positive intergroup relations, perhaps because many of them perceived "jagging around" as good fun, to be shared with blacks and with whites, if they were not too "goody-goody."

Danelle (black): It ain't fun with all them white people. They don't like to do nothing. . . . [They] don't act bad. They're goody-goody. [I'd like more blacks here], the ones that don't start trouble, [don't] start fights, call you names or throw stuff at you.

Strict supervision prevented some types of problems between whites and blacks by minimizing the sort of high-spirited, rowdy, or even aggressive behavior which worried so many children but which seemed especially threatening to whites. Although it undoubtedly minimized negative interactions, such supervision, in and of itself, did little to encourage positive relations between black and white children. Many of the situations which fostered high rates of comfortable, friendly interaction between whites and blacks required or strongly encouraged cooperation. This conclusion is not unexpected in light of the research and theory on the impact of cooperation on intergroup relations which has accumulated during the past decade (Sharan, 1980; Slavin, 1980). More surprising, however, was the fact that quite a number of students seemed well aware of this link. For example, about one-third of the students who were interviewed about whether black and white children got

along better some times than others spontaneously and specifically mentioned teamwork or cooperation, in sports or on academic tasks, as producing positive relations. Allen's comments below were unusually explicit but very much in the spirit of those of many of his classmates.

> Interviewer: Does it seem like black and white kids get along better some times than others? For example, in a particular class or in particular areas of the school?
>
> Alan (white): They get along better in gym, because they are on the same team and they cooperate together and they are working as a group.

Although sports and other play activities were mentioned frequently as leading to positive intergroup relations, especially by the boys, cooperating on academic activities was also singled out by some students as a contributing factor.

> Interviewer: Do black and white kids seem to get along better at some . . . times more than others here at Wexler?
>
> Ellen (white): Yes . . . when we're not really working. I mean, we're working but we can get into groups. . . . They get put into groups together and they work with them. . . . If they have to work in classes in groups they get along better, and when they're in gym they get along better.

The impact of policies which encouraged academic cooperation between children was apparent to the eye, in spite of the fact that differences in average achievement levels sometimes caused difficulties between black and white children. For example, in one classroom in which integrated groups of five or six children were assigned to sit at

round tables the initial strong tendency for blacks to sit on one side of the table and for whites to sit on the other gradually gave way to a more mixed pattern as the children got to know each other. By the end of the year, friendly social interaction such as that described in the field notes excerpted below was commonplace.

> [Jack, who is white, is collecting papers for Mr. Little.] When he gets to Norman (black) the two of them start playing. Norman takes a pencil and holds it between the index fingers of his two hands; Jack then gets ready to dislodge the pencil by hitting it very hard with the pencil that he holds in his hand. They have done this once and are preparing to do it a second time when Mr. Little walks by. As they catch sight of him coming, both of them pretend that they are not engaged in this playing behavior. Norman takes the pencil and grasps it in one hand as though he is going to write.

Such marked shifts in seating and other behavior patterns were not characteristic of classrooms which were organized in ways that did not encourage interracial contact and cooperation.

Discussion and Conclusions

The purpose of this paper was to present three propositions about the nature of intergroup relations in desegregated schools. Although none of these propositions are truly startling, each has important implications which are frequently overlooked by both researchers and practitioners.

The first proposition, which contends that intergroup behaviors may become more accepting at the same time that negative racial stereotypes are reinforced, has obvious methodological implications for researchers interested in assessing the impact of racially-mixed schooling on intergroup relations. Specifically, it suggests the necessity of multiple measures of intergroup relations, including both attitudinal and behavioral measures, if the research is to give any reasonably full picture of what changes are occurring.

If the conclusion that behavior directed toward out-group members became more positive in spite of the reinforcement of negative stereotypes because of the students' growing propensity to perceive each other as individuals rather than merely as members of an undifferentiated outgroup is correct, educators might find it useful to adopt policies and practices which facilitate interpersonal as opposed to intergroup relations between members of different racial or ethnic groups. A wide variety of mechanisms to accomplish this goal are available. Choice between mechanisms would depend on many factors such as the age of the students and the degree of negativity of their attitudes. Specific programs and practices at Wexler which seemed to encourage students to come to know each other as individuals ranged from the in-school clubs to the use in classrooms of small round tables rather than individual chairs with writing arms (Schofield, 1982).

Prior research has not highlighted the possibility of asymmetry in black and white students' evaluations of intergroup relations which is hypothesized in proposition 2; but there is reason to suppose that this phenomenon is not unique to Wexler. For example, one recent study found

that whereas black children rated black and white peers whom they considered close friends very similarly on a variety of personality dimensions, white children, in contrast, rated their close friends who were white more positively than close friends who were black (Damico, Bell-Nathaniel & Green 1982). Thus, the statement that one has a close friend of the other race appears to mean something rather different to white and black children. The implications of such asymmetries may be of more direct relevance to researchers than to educational practitioners. Specifically, this finding suggests numerous interesting theoretical possibilities such as the idea that black and white students may focus on different areas of intergroup relations or have different standards for evaluating such relations. More generally, it raises issues of how one measures such relations. Although these asymmetries in perception may be of greater interest to researchers than to educators, the existence of such asymmetries does point out the basic fallacy of the colorblind perspective which many educators at Wexler (Schofield, 1982) and elsewhere (Rist, 1974; Sagar & Schofield, in press a) see as so desirable. If students' experiences and perceptions really are substantially influenced by their race as this research so strongly suggests, then ignoring this fact can lead to problems. For example, educators who believe they understand the nature of intergroup relations after talking primarily with students of one race may be oblivious to problems which seem very real to members of the other group or take inappropriate action to deal with perceived problems

Intergroup behavior clearly changed at Wexler over time so that students were more accepting of out-group members after spending a year or two there than they had been initially. More marked, though, than the relatively small changes in intergroup behavior which occurred over time were the rather striking changes in intergroup behavior from setting to setting at any given time which gave rise to proposition 3. Such changes are evidence of marked malleability in intergroup relations and suggest that more attention should be paid to the ways in which specific situational factors influence them.

This research suggests that children with a given set of racial attitudes will act very differently toward racial out-group members depending on the structure of the contact situation. Indeed, certain situational factors, such as effective adult supervision and practices which fostered cooperation, had a clear enough impact on relations between blacks and whites so that the students were quite aware of their effect. Thus, proposition 3 suggests that educators must recognize that the decisions they make about classroom structure and process are not neutral in their impact, but rather set a context which molds intergroup relations. Even teachers who have little interest in affecting peer relations nonetheless are likely to do so unwittingly. For this reason, teachers and administrators cannot attribute the state of black/white relations in their classrooms or schools solely to students' predispositions or attitudes but must recognize the role that they play in structuring such relations.

Social psychologists and other researchers interested in intergroup relations are certainly far from unaware that situational factors influence intergroup behavior. The extensive work on the impact of cooperative and competitive environments on social relations between members of different groups is clear evidence of this (Aronson, Bridgeman & Geffner, 1978; Sharan, 1980; Sherif, 1967; Slavin, 1980). Yet compared to the rich literature on intergroup attitudes, there has been relatively little attention paid to intergroup behavior, and especially to the wide range of situational factors likely to influence such behavior. My argument is not that racial attitudes are unimportant. It is, however, that intergroup behavior and the factors influencing it have received less attention than they deserve since such behavior is reasonably malleable and is important both in its own right and as a mediating variable which may in the long run lead to attitude change. Furthermore, the findings of this study relating to situational influence on intergroup behavior suggest strongly that researchers need to take cognizance of the fact that their assessment of the state of intergroup relations in a particular school may be importantly influenced by the particular types of activities which have been observed. To illustrate this point, it is worth noting that the observational studies which have assessed intergroup relations in settings like school cafeterias or hallways (Schofield & Sagar, 1977; Silverman & Shaw, 1973) have tended as a group to conclude that resegregation is a much more pervasive phenomenon than have studies of classroom behavior (Sagar & Schofield, in press b; Schofield & Francis, 1982; Singleton & Asher, 1977). Yet rarely do these studies point out to the reader the extent to which their conclusions may have been

influenced by the particular setting which was observed within the school studied.

Allport, G. W. The nature of prejudice. Cambridge, Mass.: Addison-Wesley, 1954.

Amir, Y. Contact hypothesis in ethnic relations. Psychological Bulletin, 1969, 71(5), 319-342.

Amir, Y. The role of intergroup contact in change of prejudice and ethnic relations. In P. A. Katz (Ed.), Towards the elimination of racism. New York: Pergamon Press, 1976.

Aronson, Elliot, Bridgeman, Diane L., & Geffner, Robert. Interdependent interactions and prosocial behavior. Journal of Research and Development in Education, 1978, 12(1), 16-27.

Ashmore, R. Solving the problem of prejudice. In B. Collins (Ed.), Social psychology. Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley, 1970.

Barton, A. H. & Lazarsfeld, P. F. Some functions of qualitative analysis in social research. In Lipset, S. and Smelser, N. (Eds.), Sociology: The progress of a decade. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1961.

Becker, H. S., & Greer, B. Participant observations: Analysis of qualitative data. In Adams, R. N. and Preiss, J. J. (Eds.), Human organization research. Homewood, IL: The Dorsey Press, 1960, 267-89.

Campbell, D. T. Degrees of freedom and the case study. Comparative Political Studies, 1975, 8(2), 178-193.

Cohen, E. G. The effects of desegregation on race relations. Law and Comtemporary Problems, 1975, 39(2), 271-299.

Cohen, E., Lockheed, M., & Lohman, M. The center for interracial cooperation: A field experiment. Sociology of Education, 1976, 49, 47-58.

Cook, S. W. Interpersonal and attitudinal outcomes in cooperating interracial groups. Journal of Research and Development in Education. 1978, 12(1), 97-113.

Cook, T., & Campbell, D. The design and conduct of quasi-experiments and true experiments in field settings. In Dunnette, M. (Ed.), Handbook of Organizational Psychology, Chicago: Rand-McNally, 1976.

Damico, S. B., Bell-Nathanial, A., & Green, C. Effects of school organizational structures on interracial friendships in middle school. Journal of Educational Research, 1981, 74(6), 388-93.

Glaser, B. G., & Strauss, A. L. The discovery of grounded theory: strategies for qualitative research. Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1967.

Liska, A. E. Emergent issues in the attitude-behavior consistency controversy. American Sociological Review, 1974, 39, 261-274.

Olsen, S. Ideas and data: Process and practice of social research. Homewood, IL: The Dorsey Press, 1976.

Rist, R.C. Race, policy, and schooling. Society, Nov./Dec. 1974, 12(1), 59-63.

Sagar, H. A., & Schofield, J. W. Racial and behavioral cues in black and white children's perceptions of ambiguously aggressive acts. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 1980, 39(4), 590-598.

Sagar, H.A. Stereotypes and Attribution: The Influence of Racial and Behavioral Cues upon Social Perception. Unpublished docoral dissertation, University of Pittsburgh, 1979.

Sagar, H.A. & Schofield, J.W. Integrating the desegregated school: Problems and possibilities. In M. Maehr and D. Bartz (Eds.) Advances in motivation and achievement: A research annual. Greenwich, Connecticut: JAI Press, in press a.

Sagar, H.A. & Schofield, J.W. Race and gender barriers: Preadolescent peer behavior in academic classrooms. Child Development, in press b.

Schuman, H., & Johnson, M. Attitudes and behavior. Annual Review of Sociology, 1976, 2, 161-207.

Schofield, J. W. Black and white in school: Trust, tension or tolerance? New York: Praeger, 1982.

Schofield, J.W. & Francis, W.D. An observational study of peer interaction in racially-mixed "accelerated" classrooms. The Journal of Educational Psychology, 1982, 74(5), 722-732.

Schofield, J.W., & Sagar, H.A. The social context of learning in an interracial school. In Ray Rist (Ed.), Inside desegregated schools: Appraisals of an American experiment. San Francisco, California: Academic Press, 1979.

Schofield, J.W., & Sagar, H.A. Peer interaction patterns in an integrated middle school. Sociometry, 1977, 40, 130-138.

Sherif, M. Superordinate goals in the reduction of intergroup conflict: An experimental evaluation. In Austin, W. G. and Worchel, S. (Eds.), Monterey, CA: Brooks/Cole Publishing Company, 1979, 257-261.

Sherif, M. Group conflict and cooperation: London: Routledge & kegan Paul, 1967.

Sharan, Shlomo. Cooperative learning in small groups: Recent

methods and effects on achievement, attitudes, and ethnic relations. Review of Educational Research, Summer, 1980, 50(2), 241-271.

Singleton, L.C., & Asher, S.R. Peer preferences and social interaction among third-grade children in an integrated school district. Journal of Educational Psychology, 1977, 69, 330-336.

Slavin, R.E. Cooperative learning. Review of Educational Research, 1980, 50(2), 315-342.

Slavin, R. E. Effects of biracial learning teams on cross-racial friendship and interaction (Report No. 240). Center for Social Organization of Schools, The Johns Hopkins University, 1978.

Webb, E. J., Campbell, D. T., Schwartz, R. D., & Sechrest, L. Unobtrusive measures; nonreactive research in the social sciences. Chicago: Rand-McNally, 1966.

Wicker, A. W. Attitudes versus actions: The relationship of verbal and overt behavioral responses to attitude objects. Journal of Social Issues, 1969, 25, 41-78.

Worchel, S. Cooperation and the reduction of intergroup conflict: Some determining factors. In Austin, W. G. and Worchel, S. (Eds.), The social psychology of intergroup relations. Monterey, CA: Brooks/Cole Publishing Company, 1979, 262-273.

Table 1

Student Perceptions of Peer Relations

Question	Respondent's Race	
	White	Black
1. How well do you think white kids get along with other whites?	6.1	5.6
2. How well do you think black kids get along with other blacks?	6.8	4.1
3. How well do you think white and black kids get along?	-1.2	4.0*

* A 2x2 analysis of variance was performed to explore the impact of race and sex on responses to each of these three questions. The only effect which even approached statistical significance was a main effect for race on question 3, $F(1, 17) = 13.41$, $p < .005$. Possible responses ranged along a 21 point continuum from very poorly (-10) to very well (+10).